

Message Text

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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 03271 121307Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SSO-00 FBO-02 SY-05 L-03 /038 W
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O 121245Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4997

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 3271

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: US, UR, PFOR, ABLD
SUBJECT: MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON COMPLEXES

REF: STATE 55155

1. SINCE EMBASSY WILL BE UNABLE TO CONTACT KORNIYENKO UNTIL MONDAY MORNING, THERE WILL BE NO TIME LOSS IN SUBMITTING FOR THE DEPARTMENT'S CONSIDERATION OUR RESERVATIONS CONCERNING EFFECTIVENESS AND WISDOM OF ENTERING INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS AND ATTEMPTING TO REACH AN AGREEMENT IN LESS THAN TWO WEEKS BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF THE SECRETARY.

2. THE SOVIETS HAVE NOT RESPONDED TO OUR SUBMISSION OF COMPLETE, DETAILED PLANS AND SPECIFICATIONS FOR OUR NEW EMBASSY COMPLEX. THEY HAVE HAD THESE IN ENGLISH SINCE APRIL 1976 AND IN RUSSIAN SINCE AUGUST 1976. WE HAVE NO IDEA HOW DETAILED THEIR REQUESTS FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION WILL BE OR HOW SERIOUS AND/OR HOW FAR REACHING THEIR OBJECTIONS MAY BE TO THESE PLANS.

3. SO FAR AS EMBASSY IS AWARE, WE HAVE NOT YET DEVELOPED ALTERNATIVE COST FORMULA GOALS, EXCEPT FOR THE COST CEILING PRINCIPLE DESCRIBED IN OUR NOTE OF DECEMBER 21, 1976 AND SPECIFICALLY REJECTED BY THE SOVIETS ON JANUARY 11, 1977 AND KORNIYENKO LAST WEEK, AND BY DOBRYNIN AGAIN IN HIS MEETING WITH MOOSE. THE EMBASSY IS VIRTUALLY CERTAIN THAT THE SOVIETS WILL NOT ACCEPT THE OVERALL CEILING APPROACH AND THEREFORE IF NEGOTIATIONS HAVE ANY CHANCE AT
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ALL OF SUCCEEDING, WE SHOULD HAVE DEVELOPED IN ADVANCE OF THE TALKS ALTERNATIVE COST FORMULAS WHICH MEET OUR NEEDS AND MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE TO SOVIETS.

4. PRESUMABLY THE NEGOTIATING TEAM FROM WASHINGTON WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO ARRIVE IN MOSCOW MUCH BEFORE THE END OF NEXT WEEK. THAT WOULD LEAVE FOR NEGOTIATING ONLY THE WEEK BEGINNING MARCH 21

AND A COUPLE OF DAYS IN THE FOLLOWING WEEK TO TRY TO REACH AN AGREEMENT ON THE HIGHLY COMPLEX AND TECHNICAL ISSUES WHICH DIVIDE US. THE SOVIETS ARE PAST MASTERS OF USING DEADLINES AND SHORT TIME FRAMES TO THEIR TACTICAL ADVANTAGE. IT SEEMS TO US THAT BY ATTEMPTING TO NEGOTIATE AGREEMENT TO BE CONCLUDED DURING THE SECRETARY'S TRIP WOULD PLACE US AT A DISTINCT TACTICAL DISADVANTAGE.

5. A WORKABLE ALTERNATIVE IN OUR VIEW IS TO INSIST THAT THE SOVIETS EITHER APPROVE THE PLANS AND SPECIFICATIONS FOR THE EMBASSY COMPLEX WHICH THEY HAVE HAD FOR MANY MONTHS OR PROVIDE US WITH A WRITTEN LIST OF QUESTIONS AND/OR OBJECTIONS. AT THAT POINT WE COULD SEND A NEGOTIATING TEAM TO MOSCOW TO WORK OUT THE FINAL DETAILS NECESSARY BEFORE AN EXCHANGE OF SITES CAN TAKE PLACE. IN THE COURSE OF SUCH DISCUSSIONS, AND BEFORE ANY EXCHANGE OF SITES, WE WOULD HAVE TO RECEIVE FIRM SOVIET COMMITMENTS TO MEET THE EMBASSY'S OPERATIONAL NEEDS IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS, SET FORTH IN OUR NOTE OF DECEMBER 21, 1976. WE SHOULD NOT LET THE SOVIETS RENEGE ON THEIR OBLIGATIONS AS A RECEIVING STATE UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW AND PRACTICE TO ACCOMMODATE THESE FUNDAMENTAL REQUIREMENTS. THIS IS PRECISELY WHAT KORNIYENKO AND DOBRYNIN ARE TRYING TO DO.

6. IF NONETHELESS THE DEPARTMENT STILL FEELS THAT WE SHOULD DISCUSS THE MATTER (ALONG THE LINES DESCRIBED IN REFTTEL) WITH KORNIYENKO AND SEND A NEGOTIATING TEAM, WE WILL SEEK APPOINTMENT MONDAY. WE BELIEVE HOWEVER THE DEPARTMENT SHOULD BE AWARE THAT THE PROSPECT FOR SATISFACTORY SOLUTION THROUGH SUCH APPROACH IS NOT PROMISING.

TOON

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